1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

al medicine, and a special goddess of herbs; and the Mexican folk of the present day have retained and modified much of this herbal lore.[1] The principal informant on this point collected in the vicinity of Tepoztlán one hundred and ten remedial plants, and for each she gave the name and use.[2]

The infectious diseases acquired from Europeans, which occasionally are epidemic in Tepoztlán, such as smallpox, whooping-cough, and diphtheria, are well known and named. Judging from the materials available here, there is not much specialized folk medicine in connection with them. Venereal disease is plainly distinguished. A common remedy is the root of sarsaparilla, sometimes boiled with tamarind seeds. The only remedy for consumption noted is to boil a piece of china in water and drink it.

But of the diseases which are regarded as entities, and not mere symptoms that may result from varying causes, those most frequently diagnosed and treated are a group which may be termed "folk diseases" as distinguished from concepts of the morbid directly imitated from modern Western civilization. Some of these folk diseases involve supernatural causation, and some do not. The latter class are commonly rough approximations of disease categories recognized in modern city life.

[1] Louis Suc, *Les plantes médicinales du Mexique.*

[2] Those on this list which it was possible to identify botanically are given, with their uses, in Redfield, art., "Remedial Plants of Tepoztlán."

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

175 669 722 [369] [167] During this period there were no civilians in Tepoztlán. Many of the men joined the forces of Zapata. To those who did not was presented the choice of fleeing to the hills or of going to one of the cities, usually Mexico City, where security was greater. The people who were already used to the city and who were more likely to have friends there and to have the money necessary to become established there, went to the city. The poorer people, who were also those least used to city ways, were the ones who went to the hills. Hill exile was a life of isolation, a life of rumor, of reliance upon the most primitive techniques of maintenance.[1]

[722] [728] killed; the corn was eaten up. If an orange was found it was taken quickly and eaten green. Many, many died of hunger, both soldiers and non-combatants. When, after this time, food was obtained again, some died because they ate too much. We began with a half a *tortilla* at a time, and so escaped death from gorging."

[1] A *tonto* of the *barrio* of San Sebastian tells of his experiences: "Times were very horrible during the revolution. At first people stayed in Tepoztlán. J. C. [a *correcto*] was not there, but his father stayed at first, until it grew too bad; and then he too went to Mexico City. Tepoztlán was deserted for two years. The soldiers came and ate the corn, and killed all the animals. The Carranzistas killed what they didn't want to eat; not an animal was left. The troops came at last to eat dogs and cats, there was so little food. No one was safe. Many were killed, and not even buried. If the Carranzistas saw anyone, they shot him without any question.

"Many went to the cities, some to the hills. I went to the hills with my family. There were my father, my mother, and seven brothers. I was sixteen. We lived in a cave in the heights, in that direction [toward Yautepec]. We took the *metates* along. But we had no animals; we carried everything ourselves. We lived by what food we could find in the hills or in the towns, and by what we could sell in Mexico City. We used to carry fruit to Mexico to sell. Fruit was very expensive there. We sold limes at ten *pesos* a hundred. If you could just get a hold of a thousand limes and bring them to Mexico City, you had a hundred *pesos*. We took avocados too. We traveled only at night. It took two nights. When dawn came we camped somewhere in the hills beyond Tres Marías. Xochimilco was the bad place to go through; the Carranzistas waited there and killed many. We brought back soap and salt.

[164] "Then the fever came. Three of my brothers died. Bury them there? No, we

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

City exile brought the *émigrés* into competition with the people of the city, and so further sophisticated them. So it was that when after a period of years the inhabitants returned to rebuild their homes the difference between *tontos* and *correctos* had in the meantime been made more distinct.

These periods of exodus to the city render acute the growing self-consciousness of *los correctos*. *Los tontos* live, in spite of revolutions, in the same single mental world of the folk culture. *Los correctos*, on the other hand, develop an intelligentsia who live in two worlds, in two cultures, the city and the folk, and are correspondingly restless and often unhappy. The periods of revolution[1] sharpen the self-consciousness of this intelligentsia; drawn together as temporary expatriates, they idealize their home community and at the same time deprecate its shortcomings. This dissatisfaction and unrest finds an expression in programs of reform.

In April, 1920, the expatriated Tepoztecos in Mex-

brought them to the cemetery at Tepoztlán. We came down by night. It took about four hours. We took turns carrying the body. We had to bury without coffins, just *petates*. We made three such trips, each time getting back to the hills before dawn.

"Afterward, when people came back to Tepoztlán, all the animals had been killed and there was no corn left. Many died of hunger and the sickness came. Eight or nine died each day. P. R. lived in the house just across from us in San Sebastian. He was killed in the revolution. He left his wife and seven little children. They all died one after another. They wanted just a *tortilla*, but there wasn't enough.

[1] A minor period of decline occurred in 1928. Residents of Tepoztlán who belonged to the radical agrarian party started a local rebellion in which Tepoztecans were killed. Rebel activity was general in Morelos, and some Tepoztecan *correctos* went to the city.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

quarrels and many political struggles within the municipio and the village. Most of the monte is in *tierra fría*. Here the rainy season begins a few weeks earlier than in the lower regions, and the atmosphere is more humid because of the low hanging clouds. Here the soil is porous and unsuitable for adobe.

Most of the houses are therefore made of cane, straw, or wattle, and the majority of the roofs are made of wooden boards instead of tile as in Tepoztlán. Wooden boards are also put on the floor by those who can afford them for protection against the damp and cold. In the village of San Juan, which is in this region, corn is planted earlier, ripens later, and is less subject to the ravages of insects than in Tepoztlán

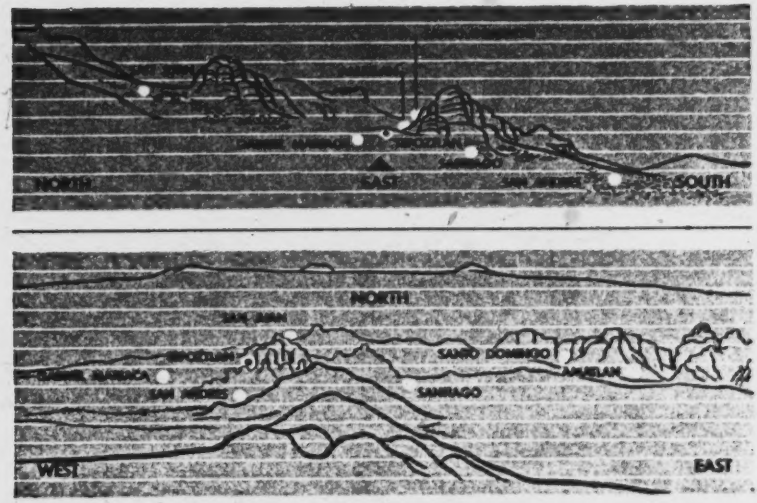

Fig. 3. Altitude of Tepoztlán and surrounding villages.

and the lower, warmer villages. Here there are no coffee trees, no hog plum, no banana, nor other tropical and semi-tropical fruits. But unlike the other villages, a little wheat, barley, lima beans, and some potatoes may be grown in San Juan. Also, *capulín*, *tejocote*, peaches, pears, and other fruits grow much better than in Tepoztlán and the lower villages. Furthermore, San Juan has no malaria.

The southern half of the municipio is divided into two parts by a ridgelike chain of hills or *cerros* which extends from the southern wall of the valley of Tepoztlán and continues south to divide the entire state of Morelos into its two major topographic regions, the valley of Cuernavaca and the valley of Amilpas. Within the municipio of Tepoztlán the large area of land to the west of this divide slopes gently to the southwest where it merges with the valley of Cuernavaca. This region contains the greater portion of the arable land of the municipio; and two villages, Gabriel Mariaca and San Andrés, are located here. Here, too, is the land known as

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

fortunate in this respect. Tepoztlán is just above the malaria area, and although some malaria occurs it is generally contracted by Tepoztecans who have been working in the lowlands. The climate of Tepoztlán is one of the most healthful in the state of Morelos, and Tepoztlán has one of the lowest death rates in the state.

The average annual temperature for the village is about 65° F. However, there are marked daily and seasonal variations. In the rainy season mornings are usually humid and cool but by midday the temperature is up to 65°. The evenings are cool. During the months of November, December, and January the nights and early mornings are much colder, and the temperature drops to 35° to 40°. The cold works hardships on the people because of the lack of warm clothing. However, even during these months the temperature rises to 65° and 70° by midday. At no time does the temperature rise above 80°. While it gets hot in the open fields under the sun, it is generally comfortable in the village because of the many shade trees on almost every house site. The daily variations in temperature and humidity are partially responsible for the high frequency of rheumatic complaints and respiratory diseases.

The rainy season begins toward the end of May or early June and generally lasts to mid-October.[1] The average annual rainfall in the village is about 60 inches, most of which comes during the five months from June to October. In June and July the rains generally come in the afternoon and last for a few hours. During these months the working day in the fields ends at about 2:00 P.M. In August and September the rains generally begin later in the afternoon and frequently last through the night. However, there is much variation within this general pattern. Although droughts are not uncommon, excessive rainfall is the more common complaint. Sometimes Tepoztecans cannot cultivate their crops with plow and oxen because of the mud.

The crucial months for the corn crop are August and September when the ears of corn are filling out. The occasional lack of rain during these months is attributed by some of the older folks to the failure of the dancers, at the fiesta in honor of the deity El Tepozteco, to carry out correctly the traditional ceremonies. The coexistence of pagan and Catholic elements in beliefs concerning rain is shown by the fact that the saints of the central church, as well as those of the barrios, are taken in procession through the village to pray for rain when necessary. Hailstorms occur in the rainy season but they are generally brief. It is a common belief among Tepoztecans that the setting off of firecrackers or the shooting of guns will stop the hail.

The dry season begins in October or November and lasts for seven long months. The earth becomes parched and many of the semi-deciduous trees lose their leaves. Water must be hauled in greater quantities for the animals, the flowers, and the young trees on the house sites. Winds from the north cause small dust storms in the village and sometimes damage the ripening corn. Respiratory diseases are more frequent during this time of the year. Because of the dry season, only one crop a

[1] See Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, p. 121, for description of the rains.

2;Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

than the national average of 48.6 for the same period. It should be noted, however, that the birth rate varies considerably from year to year. The data in Tables 6 and 7 were obtained from the Federal Department of Statistics in Mexico City, which in turn gets its data from the municipal registry in Tepoztlán. To check on the reliability of these data I examined the local registry for the five-year period from 1939 to 1943. I found that not all births are recorded, and that many births are recorded years after the event. For example, three births which had taken place in 1926 were included in the record for 1941. Out of 284 births recorded in the register of 1939, 45 were born in other years; 42 out of 251 in 1940; 63 out of 245 in 1941; 68 out of 299 in 1942; and 64 out of 245 in 1943. In other words, of 1,324 births recorded during this five-year period, 282 were not born in the year in which they were recorded. It should be noted, however, that most of the cases were only one year late. And the fact that the procedure of including births from other years is a regular one tends to reduce the margin of error. Thus, while these statistics leave much to be desired, they do indicate general trends.

The average rate of infant mortality for the eleven-year period 1930 to 1940, inclusive, was 102.3 and the general mortality for the same period was 20.2. While both figures are high when compared with death rates in rural areas in the United States, it must be noted that they are considerably lower than the figures for the state of Morelos as a whole, for which the comparable figures were 133.6 and 30.2, respectively. The general mortality rates for the 31 municipios of the state of Morelos shows the municipio of Tepoztlán to be in the lowest quartile, third from the bottom, again indicating the relatively healthful location of the village. Furthermore, the infant mortality rate for Tepoztlán was also lower than for rural Mexico, which was 121 for the five-year period 1939 to 1943, inclusive.[87]

The mortality figures, like the birth figures, show a marked variation from year to year. However, the general trend for Tepoztlán was toward a sharp lowering of the mortality rate, especially in the case of infant mortality, witness the drop from 198.1 of 1930 to 59.8 in 1940. How can we explain this trend?

Probably the most important factor in the decrease of the infant mortality rate has been the increase in and greater availability of medical services. Tepoztlán has received a good deal of attention from the Mexican Department of Health, which has carried out a fairly intensive program of inoculation. While the health officials have not succeeded in eliminating the sources of infection and epidemics in the village—witness the serious typhoid epidemic in 1940, and the measles epidemic of 1947 which killed off many children—they have taken energetic measures to control the epidemics.

Since 1930 there have been doctors residing temporarily in Tepoztlán for short periods.[88] There have been at least two *pasantes* (graduate medical students) who,

[87] Whetten, *Rural Mexico*, p. 328.

[88] From the doctors' reports on file at the Department of Health in Mexico City, it appears that rheumatism is the most frequent disease and accounted for 50 per cent of all illnesses treated. Next in frequency was benign goiter, followed by tuberculosis and enteritis.

2;Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

the Zapatista forces rarely were stationed in the village for more than a few days at a time since they were guerrilla fighters.

The Federales, on the other hand, set up troops whenever they could hold the village. Tepoztecans suffered at the hands of both the rebels and the government forces. Cattle were killed off, corn was requisitioned, women raped. Most informants attribute to the Carrancistas the greatest brutalities. Because of the pro-rebel sympathies of Tepoztecans, the government forces on a number of occasions carried off hundreds of Tepoztecan men and women as hostages to Cuernavaca and Mexico City. Tepoztecans were suspected of secretly helping the Zapatista forces, and by removing the women to Cuernavaca the government prevented them from making tortillas for the rebels. Moreover, the village was partially burned by Federales in 1912, 1913, and 1914.

By 1915 the village was in the hands of the Carrancistas, but then the Zapatista counter-offensive began and Tepoztlán again changed hands. During 1914, 1915, and 1916 the villagers fled to the *cerros* and lived there for as long as six months at a time. The men would sometimes steal back to the village to pick up some fruit or supplies and to bury their dead.

During 1916 Tepoztlán suffered a severe typhoid epidemic, thought to have been brought by the Carrancista troops. It was not until 1918 that the fighting was definitely over.

The history of the Revolution in Tepoztlán demonstrates a fundamental lack of unity among the people. Within the first few months after the revolt began, some of the ablest Tepoztecan rebel leaders had killed off one another and the village was left with no leadership. Only a handful of Tepoztecans understood the ideals of the Zapata movement and were motivated by them. Most Tepoztecans, though attracted by the promises that they would be given the lands of the neighboring haciendas, joined the conflict only when it was absolutely necessary in terms of self-defense. Were it not for the terrible abuses of the Federales it is probable that most Tepoztecans would have remained neutral.

In getting accounts of the Revolution from informants we found that many, particularly the women, had only the vaguest notion of what the Revolution was about. The following excerpts paraphrased from the life stories of informants give some of the details of life during the difficult days of the Revolution:

At first I gave little attention to the beginning of the Revolution. I saw soldiers, Federales, in the Palacio Municipal. They seemed alarmed and on the alert. They wore black hats with pompoms. I asked my father what this all meant and he told me the Revolution was coming. And so it came to pass. In February or March of 1911 Gabriel Tepepa and Lucio Moreno, the latter from the village of Gabriel Mariaca, entered the village at the head of troops. There was no battle. All I heard were cries, "Viva Madero," "Viva la Virgen de Gaudalupe." Then the people in my barrio were alarmed and little groups began to form to ask what was happening. I learned that the Revolution had begun and that they had burned the documents in the municipal archives. They looked for the *caciques* but could not find them, for they had heard the attack on the Palacio and had fled. The revolutionaries then broke into the *cacique* houses and ransacked them. Lucio

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

175
669 In March, 1916, the Carrancistas came and we escaped. We went to Jiutepec, my father and I. I feared they might get us. Some took up arms to defend themselves. We heard some women say that the Carrancistas were not molesting the *pacíficos* so we went back to Santa Catarina to learn more about true conditions. We heard that all we had to do was to show a white flag. We did, with our three animals. At about the place of the present kilometer 16 on the road, we were stopped. They wanted to take our animals but we pleaded and they let us go. When we got back to the village we found that a couple were living in our house. The man was a sub-lieutenant of the Carrancistas. This helped us very much for at that time the Carrancistas were compelling the people to work as forced laborers.

Formerly, in the time of Zapatismo we had paper money and lots of bills but we couldn't buy anything. Prices were high. A small piece of soap cost 60, 70 pesos. A plate of soup cost three pesos. Silver was scarce. In 1912 and 1913 there was still some silver but by 1914 and 1915 paper money ruined confidence and prices soared. But in 1916 with the Carrancistas there was a great change. Money was recognized by the government and prices went down. In 1914-15 there was a commercial blockade of Morelos and that is why prices went up.

The Carrancistas paid well at first for any work done, and trade again flourished in the village. For a while the blockade was over. But by June the situation again changed. General Marino and Timoteo Sánchez were among those who broke the Carrancista line and put up their headquarters in nearby Tlayacapan. And the Zapatistas began their successful counter-offensive. In August, 1916, the Zapatistas took over the village, but left after one day.

[164] From March to early July of 1916 things were bad in the village. Julio Quiroz was the president and he tyrannized all the Zapatistas. Jesús de Mesa was the secretary. There was a great typhoid epidemic. They buried about ten a day. Our business [making coffins] increased. We thought the Carrancistas brought the epidemic. On August 16 the Zapatistas killed many Carrancistas and the local government fled.

After the successful Zapatista attack of August, Tepoztecans went to the Carrancista governor of the state of Morelos, General Dionesio Carrión, to ask for guarantees for the village because the Carrancista soldiers who came in after a successful attack were killing peaceful citizens.

Gabriel Rojas was appointed as president of the municipio, and my father was secretary for a while. But then the Zapatistas attacked and now they remained in the Chalchi Cerro while the Carrancista troops occupied the Cerro del Tepozteco and Cuaiyolwalotzin. Now the village was caught in the crossfire of the battle. The Carrancistas kept using artillery against the Zapatistas who held their fire.

We fled to the Cerro de Cematzin on the side of the Zapatistas. We were there two days. The Carrancistas climbed Chalchi and began to fire on the *pacíficos*. Again we fled to a cave. We had no tortillas. We feared the Carrancistas were encircling us. We fled to the Cerro de Barriga del Plata, then to the Cerro de Algodonar. Now it was dark and we entered the *texcal* area towards Amatlán. We ate some green corn and I became ill with fever. We ate only *guayavas* and *calabazas* that we found. Since the situation looked very bad we decided we might better go to Cuernavaca. (During this time my mother was in the village with the other children.) We entered Cuernavaca at night. My father carried me half of the way.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

be bewitched as a result of romantic entanglements, and some mothers express anxiety over this and warn their children to be careful. Chronic illness and most deaths accompanied by swelling of the head or other parts of the body are frequently attributed to sorcery.

This situation makes for an oppressive atmosphere, particularly for those individuals who are striving to improve themselves or who, for one reason or another, deviate from strict conformity. It is most true for the more educated or acculturated minority and for a few of the well-to-do. Many of these people give evidence of neuroticism and display the type of tension and discomfiture so often noted among marginal groups who live within two cultures, not wholly accepting or being wholly accepted by either. We have had occasion to observe some of these people who moved to Mexico City, subsequent to our acquaintance with them, and we were astonished to note the transformation which they invariably underwent. Their faces had become less impassive; they had gained weight; they looked happier and more relaxed; they laughed more and behaved with far less formality.

One girl who went to the United States with us described herself as feeling that a great weight had been lifted off her shoulders from the time she left Tepoztlán. She no longer had to worry about gossip, criticism, sorcery, secrecy, and felt more free to express herself as she wished. Of course, this sensation is common among all people who shift from a small rural town to a large city, but in Tepoztecans we noted more striking physiological, psychological, and personality changes.

The sanctions against the overt expression of aggression in inter-personal relations sometimes give rise to an interesting type of disease locally known as *muina*, an illness caused by anger, in which aggression is apparently turned inward against the self. The symptoms of *muina* are loss of appetite, inability to take food, vomiting, loss of weight, and very often death. *Muina* is a fairly common condition and occurs among members of both sexes, primarily among adults but sometimes even among children. It may be caused by insult, humiliation, bad luck, or any other frustration which arouses anger. People with *muina* are not supposed to eat certain foods lest they become seriously ill. The dangerous foods include pork, eggs, milk, bananas, avocados, *chirimoya*, and most "hot" foods.[6]

There are also situations in which the direct expression of aggression is sanctioned, and other occasions in which it is expressed despite community sanctions against it.

Aggression is sometimes expressed directly in the beating of children, wife, or younger sisters or brothers. Men also beat their animals in moments of anger, although generally they are careful not to injure them. Attitudes toward wife beating and child-beating have been changing in the direction of disapproval. In extreme cases of cruelty, the guilty party may be denounced to the authorities and punished. Most cases of wife-beating now occur only when the men are drunk.

[6] It is interesting to note that most of the foods to be avoided contain considerable fat or oil. This suggests the possibility that the emotional disturbance causes liver disorder which makes the patient extremely sensitive to fat and unable to digest it.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

593 done by the time the husband comes home, or if the children and animals look
837 neglected, he may suspect her of having spent time with a lover. In one case, a husband noticed that the family cat ate ravenously at night as though she had not been fed all day, and he accused his wife of having been out with someone. If a wife is unusually careful about her appearance before going out, or if she is reluctant to have sexual intercourse, her husband's suspicions may be aroused.

The following conversation, or rather monologue, overheard on the Tepoztlán bus illustrates the degree of suspiciousness of the Tepoztecan husband. One woman was telling another of her difficulties with her husband whenever she returned from a trip to Cuernavaca: "If I return annoyed, he says, 'You are annoyed to have to come back to me.' If I come back contented, it is worse. Then he says, 'Now you are happy. Now you are satisfied because you saw the one you wanted to see.' It seems that I have to have a face of wood when I enter my house."

Husbands generally become less suspicious after several years of marriage, if the behavior of the wife warrants it. However, as the children get older and can assist the mother at home, and as the needs of the growing family increase, women frequently wish to devote more time to earning money. For this they need freedom
[484] and must leave the house more often, and tension and suspicion in the husband are again awakened. Men are most secure when their wives are pregnant or have
[842] an infant to care for; then women keep to the house more and are unable to undertake outside activities. Having many children, one following close upon the other, is a source of security for the men.

Promiscuous sexual activity is considered a male prerogative in Tepoztlán, and men feel under pressure to have "affairs." Although male adultery is considered undesirable, it is also viewed as natural behavior and is widespread on the part of married men. Men make no secret of the fact that they have children by other women and often recognize these children as their own. There is no strong feeling
[848] or prejudice against illegitimate children; rather they are pitied, because "they don't have a father."

[589] Illicit relations are usually with widows or unmarried women, but also frequently
[548] with other married women. Many men now go to Cuernavaca where they visit
[164] houses of prostitution, and venereal disease is becoming more common in Tepoztlán.

The "good" wife does not interfere with her husband's extra-marital affairs, but
[578] many wives express resentment, especially if money is involved. Some women will openly quarrel with their husbands because of jealousy and may refuse to give them money. This type of interference particularly enrages husbands and often results in a beating.

273 Drunkenness is not as common in Tepoztlán as in surrounding villages or other
593 parts of Mexico and is more disapproved of. Most men drink a small amount of
[733] alcohol regularly in the evening, "to heat themselves" against the cold air of the fields, but extensive drinking is limited to Sundays, fiestas, or formal occasions. Most wives resent drunkenness, because of the probability of violence and the expenditure

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

551 which the child is most frequently called. Many names are shortened for daily use, and nicknames are common for boys. The children take the surname of the father as their own. For example, when Juan Gómez marries Carlota Villamar, their son Francisco may sign his name as Francisco Gómez Villamar or just Francisco Gómez.[3]

291 The parents alone, or sometimes with the help of the grandparents, prepare the necessary clothing for the new baby. In former days, when a girl married at twelve
854 or thirteen, the burden of preparation for the first child fell upon her mother-in-law or mother who usually made baby clothes out of old clothing. Although this is still true in the majority of cases, some more acculturated young wives prepare new baby clothes when they become pregnant for the first time. Later children are
[735] generally dressed in the used clothing of the first child. Used clothing is given away
[578] only to intimate relatives or to poor people who beg; to offer such clothing to friends or distant relatives would offend them.

Infants are dressed in cotton shirts and *pañales* or diapers of rags tied around the waist with a string. This string is often tied so tightly as to leave a deep red welt. The clothing of infants up to three months is generally warmed before being put on. Dresses are put on girls, and pants on boys, at about four months. Young infants are kept warm by a blanket; older ones, particularly in better-to-do families, by woolen sweaters. Girls' ears are pierced usually about one week after birth, but
[304] often later, by a competent female. Red, green, or black silk thread is drawn through the ears until earrings are provided.

515 Infants are expected to be kept fairly clean. Most babies up to one year are bathed
854 every three days, but some young mothers bathe their first-born son every day, sometimes even twice a day if the infant is restless. They are bathed in warm water during the warmest part of the day. Most mothers are careful to keep the soap out of the baby's eyes, and babies seem to enjoy their baths. After the bath they are rubbed with alcohol to warm them or are dusted with talcum and are dressed in clean clothing.

854 *Pañales* are changed whenever soiled or only once a day, depending upon the mother. In general, first-born or favorite children are changed more often, as are the children of the more educated families. Other women tend to add dry cloths over the wet ones and make a complete change only when there is a bowel movement. The most *dejada* or careless mothers reuse soiled rags without washing them and may not clean the child for a long time after a bowel movement. For the most
[164] part, however, babies are kept clean and do not suffer unduly from rashes or skin irritations caused by diapers.

[103] [3] It is interesting to note that as late as 1806, most people in Tepoztlán still followed the Indian custom of identifying people by the name of their house site, in Náhuatl. A census of the village taken at this date shows most of the names as names of house sites, with the first name in Spanish preceding it. The following are some examples of how the names appear in this census, Juan Isidro Tlatelpa, Mariano Eusebio Tecuapan, María Tomasa Tecuapan, María Victoriano Ayopac, María Luisa Tejoac, etc. Note that the surnames are in Náhuatl. These "surnames" were really the names of the house sites, *or sitios*.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

closes when touched, is sometimes placed under the child's pillow to make him stop crying and go to sleep. Sometimes the leaf of the *sapote blanco* may also be used. When a small child cries because he is *chincual*, or irritated in the rectum, the small berries of the *tohcuchichi*[4] are put into the rectum to stop the crying. If a child is restless and sleepless because of diarrhea, his abdomen and buttocks are rubbed with hot tallow, into which has been mixed the powdered flower of the *cempaxochid*, and then wrapped in a hot cloth.

Children are, for the most part, not hurried in their development. A healthy child is expected to walk at about one year and to talk at about two years. If the child does not walk by that time, some parents rub his leg and calf muscles with earth warmed by the sun, to remove the "cold" from his legs. More acculturated women may help their children learn to walk by placing a sash under the arms for support or by putting a toy before them. Children are only mildly encouraged to speak, by repeating words to them. There is little correction of childlike errors in speech, such as substituting "y" for "r" or omitting "s," or misplacing syllables, so that errors persist until the child is five or six years of age. If a child cannot speak by the time he is three or four, a church key may be borrowed and turned in the child's mouth to "unlock" it. It is believed by many that the fingernails of a child should not be cut until he begins to speak, because the palate will fall and the child will be mute. To prevent children from scratching themselves with their long nails, some mothers put little mittens on their hands. When teeth are late in coming, the gums may be rubbed with a grasshopper's leg until the gums bleed. This is an old practice and is no longer known by many of the younger people. It is also believed that a child's hair should not be cut before one year, or the child will become ill.

Most mothers prefer a quiet child to an active one and do not encourage children to be independent. It is considered careless and neglectful to permit children to crawl on the floor or in the dirt, and few mothers put their infants down for more than a moment. This attitude is in part due to the fact that children who crawl are more troublesome and need watching, and in part because there is usually no clean, safe place in which a child may crawl. Inside the house or in the patio there is always danger from insects and animals. Women point out that infants who are allowed to crawl about unobserved almost always suffer from chronic diarrhea, worms, and intestinal diseases. Mothers who have no one to help them often put their small children into a large box while they do their work. In the past a busy mother tied her child to a stake and let him play on a *petate*, but this is no longer done.

All infants in Tepoztlán are carried almost every waking moment up to the time they begin to walk. Children are carried a great deal even after they can walk and not infrequently until they are three and four years old. In Tepoztlán, children are not cradled or slung in the *rebozo*, as in some parts of Mexico, but are held in

[4] *Solanum nigrum.*

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

19 *old age and death:*

In Tepoztlán a person is thought to be old when he can no longer do his customary work because of physical weakness or when he is obviously gray, wrinkled, and bent with age.[1] This is equally true of women. The menopause is not taken as a sign of old age; women generally welcome it because they will no longer be able to bear children. There is no custom of retiring to a life of rest and leisure; everyone works as long as he is able. (See Fig. 63.) The habit of useful activity keeps old people from becoming a burden to their children or a "social problem." Children are expected to care for old parents and the majority do, but many old people prefer to live alone, even at a miserable subsistence level.[2]

Old age as such is not feared, but dependence upon others and inability to work are generally very much feared. (See Fig. 64.) A "useless" old age is considered a sad thing, and many would prefer death. Chronic or lingering illness is not a serious problem because old people continue to work until their illness becomes acute, and death quickly follows. There are relatively few individuals who are bedridden or severely disabled because of their advanced years.

Old age is traditionally the time when a Tepoztecan receives greatest respect and consideration. Men over fifty are not required to do guard duty, and old people are permitted greater freedom of speech and behavior. They may get drunk, insult others, use sexual terms, laugh and cry, and even urinate in public without censure, although younger people may find it embarrassing. On the whole, however, old people are as restrained in behavior as other adults.

It appears to be the consensus that less and less respect for old people is being shown. It is pointed out that many children now address their grandparents in the familiar *tú* and that some of the old customs of greeting elders, such as the kissing of the hand, have fallen into disuse. In addition to the disappearance of outward signs of respect, there are more sources of conflict between the older and younger

[1] Approximately fifteen per cent of the population of Tepoztlán is over age fifty. Tepoztlán has a higher proportion of old people than does rural Mexico as a whole. At the time of this study, the oldest person in the village was ninety-nine.

[2] Of the forty-five individuals who live alone, the majority are over sixty years of age.